

Officer: Pueblo Not Necessary

Second in Command Criticizes Bucher

By JULES LOH

Associated Press Writer

NEW YORK — The seizure of the USS Pueblo by the North Koreans in 1968 was an incident that "needn't have happened," contends the spy ship's executive officer, who blames the capture on the failings of his skipper, Cmdr. Lloyd M. Bucher.

The officer, Lt. Edward R. Murphy Jr., has since retired from the Navy and makes the accusation in a book, "Second in Command," being published Monday by Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Murphy depicts Bucher as an erratic, moody, irresponsible officer, a poor leader and a "lousy ship handler," who was more interested in drinking to excess and partying until all hours than in the serious business of captaining a ship.

President Nixon "was not satisfied that the whole truth had come out during the court of inquiry" into the Pueblo's seizure and for that reason Murphy was called to the White House to give his version.

The secretary of the Navy later dismissed the court of inquiry's recommendation that Bucher be court-martialed.

MURPHY'S account of the Pueblo's seizure portrays Bucher as a confused, bumbling captain issuing contradictory orders or none at all, and at one point "standing on the port wing frantically waving his white stocking cap" and shouting at the North Koreans to stop firing.

"There was no doubt the seizure was intended as an

emblem of surrender," Murphy claims. However, he concedes this occurred well before the North Koreans boarded the ship.

Murphy's account contrasts not just with Bucher's version but also that of P. Carl Schumacher Jr., who was operations officer of the Pueblo and also wrote a book about its capture, and with much of the testimony at the court of inquiry.

MURPHY explains this by saying that during the crew's 11 months' captivity, Bucher forced all the officers and certain crewmen to rehearse the events leading up to the capture until they emerged with a single consistent account.

"To get it," Murphy claims, "he (Bucher) cajoled, threatened, cried, charmed, blackmailed, and attempted to turn one officer against another."

Discussing the day of capture, Murphy admits that, when asked at the court of inquiry what he himself would have done had he been in command, his reply was: "My decision would have been essentially the same."

MURPHY spends pages detailing Bucher's failings as a leader of men, passing off the captain's taunts of his captors in the presence of the crew simply as Bucher's "need to play the hero." Scores of Pueblo crewmen, on the other hand, have said Bucher inspired them to unified resistance.

During Hell Week, a period of particularly brutality against the crew, Bucher was beaten more severely than any of the officers. Murphy's account of this is reported in a tone typical of the book: "I realized, frankly to my surprise, that Bucher hadn't talked."

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Free speech and traitors

When does dissenting free speech become aiding and abetting the enemy. When does active protest become traitorous conduct. These questions have been argued in and out of courts throughout America in recent years. For the most part, when court-tested, freedoms have won unlimited reign; restriction has been almost non-existent.

Yet there is adequate evidence that anti-government forces in this country have significantly supported by word and deed the actions of other nations against our own. It is equally clear that deliberately inflammatory words and acts by dissidents in America have en-

couraged opposing governments to increase their belligerence.

One such instance was described in a recent broadcast interview with Pueblo Commander Lloyd Bucher. He and his crew, Bucher stated, were administered a tremendous number of beatings by their Communist captors that they would not have had to endure had Democratic Senator Stephen Young not publicly charged that the Pueblo crew members were CIA operatives — which they were not. Bucher also stated that the North Koreans relied heavily on American anti-war demonstrations and statements to convince the Pueblo crew that their country no longer

supported them.

This is not the first knowledge we have had that internal antagonists were providing fuel for non-friendly nations. Street violence, anti-war demonstrations and anti-war policy statements by certain public officials have been publicized for propaganda sake in newspapers throughout the Communist world. It has even been used by Communist officials in Hanoi as grounds for refusing peace overtures from this country.

It is time the courts and the public took a stern view of those who attempt to beat America down while hiding behind the protection of her civil liberties skirt.

Capital Briefs

STATINTL

★ U.S. officials are fearful that the new Bolivian regime will free Regis Debray, the Castroite revolutionary now serving 30 years for murder, robbery and subversion. Pro-Communist generals seized power last month and are reported ready to free Debray, an intimate of the late Che Guevara.

★ *Pueblo* Cmdr. Lloyd Bucher blames Sen. Stephen Young for the "tremendous number of beatings" suffered by his crew in North Korea after Young had publicly labeled the *Pueblo* a CIA operation. Bucher added that the North Koreans seized on anti-war demonstrations in this country to convince crew members they had been deserted by their country.

M - 139,739

S - 246,007

Books

CIA Brought Out In Open

THE INTELLIGENCE ESTABLISHMENT, By Harry Howe Ransom (Harvard University Press: 309 pages, \$9.95).

To what extent does the CIA rely on secret agents or other clandestine operations for its intelligence? The answer: Only about 20 per cent.

It gets more from news media and published documents (25 per cent) and from routine State Department and other agency reports (25 per cent).

The most profitable single source (30 per cent) is our corps of military attaches accredited by foreign governments. (In return, of course, we accredit their military attaches in this country.)

These estimates are from Prof. Ransom's book, a scholarly, unsensational study updating a similar work he published 12 years ago.

Since then the CIA has enormously proliferated in personnel policy and power to the point where it now spends several billion dollars a year. Neither its operations nor its budget are subject to normal congressional scrutiny, which is one reason why this book was written.

Prof. Ransom, a former research associate at Harvard's Defense Studies Program, feels that there is a potential risk in the existence of an intelligence colossus whose activities are hidden from all but a handful of people.

Orbiting satellites, which

both we and the Russians (and perhaps also the Chinese) now employ, have become extremely sophisticated.

Cameras aboard missiles launched can depict from heights of more than a hundred miles cars parked on a Moscow street or even persons on the ground.

Electronic eavesdropping devices known as "ferrets" can monitor conversations on the other side of the globe.

The unmanned "drone" planes we periodically send over China (and which the Chinese occasionally shoot down) send back the data which enables us to announce the testing of Chinese nuclear devices usually before the Chinese announce them.

Yet, for many people, its compatibility with our governmental system remains open to question. The most patriotic of citizens is disturbed by incidents like the shooting down of the U-2 spy plane over Russia in 1960, or the capture of the Pueblo in 1968, or the murky charges and countercharges of assassination in the Green Beret affair in Vietnam last year.

What is the alternative?

After Prof. Ransom has examined the problem from every angle, he reaches the wholly predictable conclusion that in the foreseeable future we cannot dispense with our intelligence establishment.

He does, however, suggest changes: Mistakes should be repaired "by surgery," covert operations should be undertaken only to prevent a direct threat to our national security, and the President and State Department should exercise effective control over secret operations at all times. The CIA would probably reply that all this is already in effect.

If Prof. Ransom has little in the way of revelation for us, at least he has brought a taboo topic out in the open.

—Saturday Review

STATINTL

Rusk's Explanation and McCloskey's Remarks

By Mr. Rusk

President Johnson and I are pleased to report that the United States representative at Panmunjom has just obtained the release of the 82 officers and men of the U.S.S. Pueblo who last January were illegally seized with their ship on the high seas.

The men will stop first at an American Army hospital near Seoul and will fly from there to San Diego after any immediate medical needs have been met. The body of Seaman Duane D. Hodges, who lost his life at the time the ship was captured, has also been returned.

The men were released after long and difficult negotiations. The North from the beginning that the men would not be released unless the United States falsely confessed to espionage and to violations of North Korean territory and apologized for such alleged actions.

We necessarily refused these demands. We repeatedly offered to express our regrets if shown valid evidence that the Pueblo in any way violated her sailing orders and intruded into waters claimed by North Korea.

After 10 months of negotiations, during which we made every sort of reasonable offer, all of which were harshly rejected, we had come squarely up against a most painful problem: how to obtain the release of the crew without having this Government seem to attest to statements which simply are not

true. Then, within the past week, a way which does just that was found, and a strange procedure was accepted by the North Koreans. Apparently the North Koreans believe there is propaganda value even in a worthless document which General Woodward publicly labeled false before he signed it.

General Woodward said: "The position of the United States Government with regard to the Pueblo, as consistently expressed in the negotiations at Panmunjom and in public, has been that the ship was not engaged in illegal activity, that there is no convincing evidence that the ship at any time intruded into the territorial waters claimed by North Korea, and that we could not apologize for actions which we did not believe took place. The document which I am going to sign was prepared by the North Koreans and is at variance with the above position but my signature will not and cannot alter the facts. I will sign the document to free the crew and only to free the crew."

If you ask me why these two contradictory statements proved to be the key to effect the release of our men, the North Koreans would have to explain it. I know of no precedent in my 19 years of public service. The simple fact is that the men are free and our position on the facts of the case is unchanged.

We regret that the ship itself, U.S.S. Pueblo, has not yet been returned, that will have to be pursued further.

During these painful months, I met with the families of a number of the crew. I want to pay tribute to the understanding which relatives have shown toward our efforts to free the men, even at times when it seemed

that these efforts were getting nowhere.

And the American people deserve a word of thanks. This has been a most frustrating episode. There have been a few among us who counseled either violent reprisals, which could not save the men, or abject surrender to North Korean demands. But the great majority of our people have kept their heads. And the crew has now been released in time to have Christmas with their loved ones.

By Mr. McCloskey

The agreement to free the men involved the acceptance by both sides of the following procedure. General Woodward, our negotiator, signed a document prepared by the North Koreans. He made a formal statement for the record just before signing. The text of his statement had ear-

lier been transmitted to the North Koreans and they had accepted our requirement that this statement be coupled with the signature of their document.

As he said, General Woodward placed his name on the false North Korean document for one reason only: to obtain the freedom of the crew who were illegally seized and have been illegally held as hostages by the North Koreans for almost exactly 11 months. He made clear that his signature did not imply the acceptance by the United States of the numerous false statements in that document. Indeed the prior acceptance by the North Koreans of the statement which General Woodward read into the record just before signing shows clearly their recognition of our position that the facts of the case call for neither an admission of guilt nor for an apology.

Statement Signed at Panmunjom

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22.—Following are the texts of the statement signed at Panmunjom, Korea, by Maj. Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward of the United States and a statement of explanation issued here tonight by Secretary of State Dean Rusk, with excerpts from a statement by Robert J. McCloskey, State Department spokesman:

By General Woodward

To the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

The Government of the United States of America,

Acknowledging the validity of the confessions of the crew of the U.S.S. Pueblo and of the documents of evidence produced by the representative of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the effect that the ship, which was seized by the self-defense measures of the naval vessels of the Korean People's Army in the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on Jan. 23, 1968, had illegally intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Shoulders full responsibility and solemnly apologizes for the grave acts of espionage committed by the U.S. ship against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea after having intruded into the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

And gives firm assurance that no U.S. ships will intrude again in the future into



United Press International

Maj. Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward, who signed document given to the North Koreans.

the territorial waters of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

Meanwhile, the Government of the United States of America earnestly requests the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to deal leniently with the former crew members of the U.S.S. Pueblo confiscated by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea side, taking into consideration the fact that these crew members have confessed honestly to their crimes and petitioned the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for leniency.

Simultaneously with the signing of this document, the undersigned acknowl-

edges receipt of 82 former crew members of the Pueblo and one corpse.

On Behalf of the Government of the United States of America

GILBERT H. WOODWARD
Major General
U.S.A.

The idea for the confession and simultaneous repudiation originated in the State Department, the officials said. It was put to the North Koreans at the meeting in Panmunjom on Dec. 17 and accepted two days later.

The officials conceded that they were surprised that the idea was acceptable. But they noted that there would be considerable propaganda value to the signed confession in the Communist world, where news media are officially controlled and need not take notice of the simultaneous disclaimer.

Threatened Withdrawal

At the Dec. 17 meeting it was reported, the United States negotiators said that if the proposal were not accepted in time for the prisoners to be released by Dec. 23, it would be withdrawn and the North Koreans would have to start negotiating from the beginning with the administration of President-elect Richard M. Nixon.

The propaganda aspect and the threat to withdraw the offer were cited as possible explanations for North Korea's agreement even though there was an alternative United States proposal that officials here had thought would be more advantageous to the Communists.

This would have been a technical device, which has been used from time to time in diplomatic deadlocks. Under the alternative proposal, General Woodward would have accepted the piece of paper on which the confession was printed, and written across it in his own handwriting an acknowledgment that he had taken custody of the prisoners.

Thus, he would have "signed" the paper, without accepting the terms of the confession, and the crew would have been freed. There would not have been the simultaneous statement by the United States that the confession was false and worthless.

Charges Illegal Detention

Emphasizing the American disclaimer, the State Department spokesman, Robert J. McCloskey, made a further statement as soon as the prisoners had been freed. The crewmen, he said, were illegally seized and have been illegally held as hostages by the North Koreans for almost exactly eleven months.

"The prior acceptance by the North Koreans of the statement which General Woodward read into the record just before signing shows clearly their recognition of our position that the facts of the case call for neither an admission of guilt nor for an apology," he added.

From almost the start of the tedious negotiations with North Korea, the United States put higher priority on retrieving the men than the ship.

82 IN PUEBLO CREW FREED; U.S. GIVES NORTH KOREANS 'CONFESSION,' DISAVOWS IT

U.S. General Repudiates Document Before Signing

By PETER GROSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22—The United States Government has deliberately signed what it termed a false confession of espionage inside North Korea territorial waters in order to free the Pueblo crew. The confession was repudiated as it was formalized by Maj. Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward, chief United States negotiator in the Pueblo talks.

The extraordinary action was authorized by President Johnson, United States officials said.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk said tonight that lengthy negotiations had turned up no other way, acceptable to both North Korea and the United States, of liberating the 82 surviving prisoners of the United States intelligence vessel, which was seized last Jan. 23.

"I know of no precedent in my 19 years of public service," Mr. Rusk said in a statement announcing the handing over of the prisoners to American representatives at the truce camp at Panmunjon.

"Apparently the North Koreans believe there is propaganda value even in a worthless document which General Woodward publicly labeled

false before he signed it," Mr. Rusk said.

State Department officials could not cite any previous case in international law in which a government had announced that it was about to lie, in effect, and still achieve the desired result.

The document signed by General Woodward admitted that the Pueblo had illegally intruded into North Korean territorial waters and apologized for the intrusion. It acknowledged the validity of confessions made by the crewmen in captivity, and it gave firm assurances that no United States ship would ever again violate North Korean waters.

These were precisely the declarations that North Korea had demanded since the secret electronic monitoring vessel was boarded and captured in the Sea of Japan. In fact, the statement was prepared by the North Koreans and was not altered in any way by the American side, State Department officials said.

Throughout the negotiations the United States insisted that there was no evidence of an intrusion into North Korean waters and that the confessions broadcast by Communist radio stations could not be accepted as valid.

"After 10 months of negotia-

tions, during which we made every sort of reasonable offer—all of which were harshly rejected—we had to come squarely up against a most painful problem: how to obtain the release of the crew without having this Government seem to attest to statements which simply are not true," Mr. Rusk said.

"Then, within the past week, a way which does just that was found, and a strange procedure was accepted by the North Koreans."

This procedure involved a specific disclaimer of the confession to be recited by General Woodward before witnesses, including Western newsmen, in advance of signing the document and receiving custody of the crew, the State Department said. The North Koreans, the Department said, fully understood what General Woodward was planning to do and agreed to it.

"If you ask me why these two contradictory statements proved to be the key to effect the release of our men," Mr. Rusk added, "the North Koreans would have to explain it. The simple fact is that the men are free and our position on the facts of the case is unchanged."

President Gratified

The White House issued a statement by President Johnson expressing his gratification at the crew's release after a "totally unjustified detention."

"They should be reunited with their families in time for Christmas, and I am happy for them that their time of ordeal ends on a note of joy," the President said.

Secretary of Defense Clark M. Clifford issued a similar statement and added, "at the same time our thoughts and our prayers are extended tonight to those courageous American families whose men are yet in enemy prison camps."

Reds Approved Disclaimer

The officials here said that the text of General Woodward's disclaimer was worked out in Washington and submitted in advance to the North Korean negotiators. The disclaimer expressed the continuing United States contention "that the ship was not engaged in illegal activity, that there is no convincing evidence that the ship at any time intruded into the territorial waters claimed by North Korea, and that we could not apologize for actions which we did not believe took place."

"The document which I am going to sign was prepared by the North Koreans and is a variance with the above position," General Woodward went on, "but my signature will not and cannot alter the facts. I will sign the document to free the crew and only to free the crew."

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THE NEW YORK TIMES
23 December 1968

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I want to pay tribute also to the patience and courage of these relatives while their husbands, fathers and sons were held by the North Koreans.

The negotiations at Panmunjom were cruelly drawn out, and I am grateful for the understanding which the Pueblo families showed through the long and painful period during which their Government has sought to free the crew.

I must express my deep sorrow over the death of one crew member, Seaman Duane D. Hodges, who was killed while endeavoring to carry out his duties during the seizure of the ship.

I also want to thank our negotiator at Panmunjom, Maj. Gen. Gilbert H. Woodward. He carried out his difficult and successful assignment with distinction and has preserved the integrity of the United States while obtaining the release of the men of the Pueblo.

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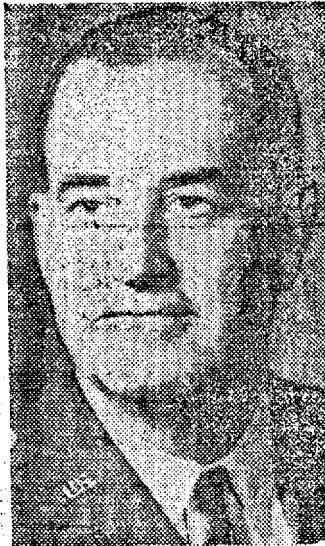
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During these painful months, I met with the families of a number of the crew. I want to pay tribute to the understanding which relatives have shown toward our efforts to free the men, even at times when it seemed

that these efforts were getting nowhere.

And the American people deserve a word of thanks. This has been a most frustrating episode. There have been a few among us who counseled either violent reprisals, which could not save the men, or abject surrender to North Korean demands. But the great majority of our people have kept their heads. And the crew has now been released in time to have Christmas with their loved ones.

By Mr. McCloskey

The agreement to free the men involved the acceptance by both sides of the following procedure. General Woodward, our negotiator, signed a document prepared by the North Koreans. He made a formal statement for the record just before signing. The text of his statement had ear-

lier been transmitted to the North Koreans and they had accepted our requirement that this statement be coupled with the signature of their document.

As he said, General Woodward placed his name on the false North Korean document for one reason only: to obtain the freedom of the crew who were illegally seized and have been illegally held as hostages by the North Koreans for almost exactly 11 months. He made clear that his signature did not imply the acceptance by the United States of the numerous false statements in that document. Indeed the prior acceptance by the North Koreans of the statement which General Woodward read into the record just before signing shows clearly their recognition of our position that the facts of the case call for neither an admission of guilt nor for an apology.